

/284 cont. /

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[537]

The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage^o, near which the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house.

At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.

[361]

Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or

[516]

[302]

[285]

eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the thresholds, where

[533]

more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

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[614]

We were not able to obtain any serious information on the choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tušawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tušawa, the

/295 cont. /

- 301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
 614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
 [292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival
 costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the
 Bokodori-Čiba-Köge, and the labial pendant of his clan.
 [237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws
 of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central
 cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of
 mother-of-pearl incrustated in the resin casing.
 301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
 237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
 614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the
 Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the
 Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills,
 the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
 [534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika
 and po^ari), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes
 often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki);
 the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and
 the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

- 616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
 [534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers"
 [973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
 302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instru-
 ment, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
 614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who
 are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them
 "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have
 not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on p. 36]

Plate
VII

142
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A

[301]



B

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←

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C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a

E-5 (1936) 1936

SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

- A. Male type.
- B. A couple.
- C. Penis band, everyday type.
- D. Ceremonial penis band.

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1:Lévi-Strauss--48

E-5 (1936)

1936

SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

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A



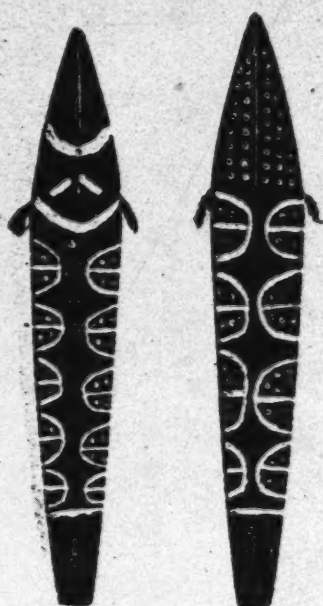
B

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C



D

/See captions on next page. /

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

- A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
- B. The marid'do coming out.
- C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
- D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown).
Length: 106 cm.

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361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

184
784 Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

616
614 The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, bottom; 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

462 The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

392 How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowaky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, bottom; 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. B. BULL. 148)

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or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset. *Women wear a gray perineal band.*

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, top; 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

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755
Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The Bororo spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

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237
The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, left; 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

184
Kosłowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his Western Bororo the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

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Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

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The men work mainly in their club house.

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Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, a, b).

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8



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PLATE 81.—Bororo village of Kojan. Top: Men's club in background. Bottom: Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8



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PLATE 50.—Bororo Indian types. Top: Man in festival dance, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kojara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Bottom: Like Lourenço men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

[P. 432 - I]



PLATE 91.—Bororo women. São Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Howell.)

21. lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Dororo SP8

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8



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PLATE II.—BORORO INDIANS. Left: Young man of Kajara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Right: Old Lourenço man. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



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[P.432-J]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE VI.—Portrait of young Bororo man, Sita Lourenço. (Courtesy David M. Newell.)

[P.432-L]

3: Petruccio E-5 (1931) 1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LORENÇO BORORO DRAWING THE BOW

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LORENÇO BORORO WITH FISH HE SHOT

[P.105]

[Plate V]

3. Petruccio E-5 (1931) 1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LORENÇO BORORO GIRL.



FIGURE 1. SÃO LORENÇO BORORO WITH FACIAL PAINTING

[P. 108]

[Plate VI]

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LORENÇO BORORO WITH A FLOWER LABRET

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FIGURE 1. SÃO LORENÇO BORORO GIRL

[P.111]

[Plate VII]

[BORORO da Campanha]

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would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted on retiring to their hammocks.

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[182]

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly the significance of the dance.

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• [302]

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter; the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

[241]

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[533]

The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[122]

[Text continues on p. 124]

Bakairi SP7

Yaruma SP25

The heads of the boys before arriving at puberty are often shaven, but the girls wear the hair in the same style as the older women until puberty, when the hair is not cut and must be worn over the face until after the end of the initiatory period [Plate XII, 3, 4].

Body hair, especially of the genital parts, is pulled out by both sexes. Hair of the legs and arms is not pulled out unless it is unusually thick, but the trunk, the armpits, the face, receive careful attention. For this purpose a spiny grass is used. In contrast with the Bororo, the eyebrows are not taken off.

With the exception of ear piercing, which is performed on the boys, no other type of body mutilation is practiced, though the use of piranha-teeth scrapers to draw the evil out of the body in case of sickness, done by the individual himself, often leaves marks on the body. This is done also to alleviate itching.

Filing the upper teeth is limited to the Bakairi, who file the upper front teeth to a point.

* * *

Each village is composed of a number of houses, generally about five, with a headman to each. The heads of households are interrelated, often being brothers. In each household a number of families live together, each having its own possessions, and its own section of the hut. Such a household generally consists of the headman and his wife, his unmarried children and the married females with their husbands and children. The young man goes to live in the house of his wife's father, but when he is capable of it he may build his own house.

There is a nominal head to the village. His authority, however, is limited to the ceremonial; in other things he is more of a counsellor than a leader.

The women are actually the authoritative persons in the village. Succession and inheritance is traced through them, and though the stranger deals with the men, they consult their women in everything and refuse to do anything unless the women are compliant. Often the women are openly more aggressive than the men.

Marriage takes place soon after the puberty initiations, which both boys and girls have to undergo. For the girl, the initiation consists in having her legs bound in the manner already described, covering the body

[Text continues on p. 171]

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
854 this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
856 speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small
baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and
weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of conti-
[302] nence is over is the time of birth officially ended. The
husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorn-
ing his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to
the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a
matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for
the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both
the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to
the role of the father's female consanguineals during child-
birth are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
* [60] attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is
reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-
siblings are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of
by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may
be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a step-
mother from the category of genealogically connected rela-
tives. Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clan names.¹ The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished ancestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [533] [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

¹ I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names—the names of the clans—and clanic names—personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
 [302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
 [301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
 [335] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
 [534] child dancing and playing the ika.¹

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the vil-
 lage plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
 [302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
 [301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
 [237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes
 Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari² for the boy to make him
 [533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the
 songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the
 other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the
 singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so
 that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
 [301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
 [302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
 [533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
 [304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and
 pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

¹ The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] ² The pana, a wind instrument made from a double cala-
 bash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument
 of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator
 and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

881 Peru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).

Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the

[824] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody

[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.

[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete

[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
 [301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
 [302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
 [774] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his ma-
 ternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep
 there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis
 sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in

[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
 [291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with dif-
 ferent red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of
 animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.

[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator
 makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his

[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occa-
 sionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he re-
 ceives into the men's house and shares it with his (the

[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty
 of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all
 hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all
 these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended
 to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not
 only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is

881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
 *601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of
 his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as
 he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

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● 302 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors represent-
614 ing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented
822 with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is,
822 then, expressed through the opposition of black and white.

[825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the
Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red;
aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black
Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red;
aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere
tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

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614 The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally
displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong
to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Para-
bara eimejara (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor
of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild
tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female
tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki
onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a
genealogical relation between father or mother and child,
but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young.
At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which
means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young
sprouts of buriti palm.

822
614 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also
827 finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the
differences between ancestors attributed to subclans.

Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

773 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black
616 Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged.

571 The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is
much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety
of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket,
which is worn during the ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate
the lower lip of a male child in the naming
ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird
breast)

enotadawu "kuruqugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament
made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejara and his paraphernalia:

imo irogodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is
worn during ceremonies)

imo pariko (a headdress)

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Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo itogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure
Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge,
Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroqe was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.

[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it [115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enríque. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroqe was Itubore.

772 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
831 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
775 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
776 a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The
expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says
that the dogs were there, but the village itself was name-
less. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper
name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.

82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part
of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and
later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the
society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and
plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the
first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names.
Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge,
for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins
themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

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[764] denied water burial.¹

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
[787] the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
[772] meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
[533] it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
[302] the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
[237] is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
[843] She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
[152] them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
[534] also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
[775] arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
[304] can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
[593] done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
[614] to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
[787] After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
[533] were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
[764] put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

¹ This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagudodoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

881 Mature women, when
841 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
822 boy is shown the ai (bull-roarers) and the other secret
794 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spe-
342 cially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
571 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
302 is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
826 Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
816 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
833 sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
763 ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
763 ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
616 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

[772] in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their
[773] father was a man, their mother was a doe.¹ They try to pluck
[824] all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to be-
[302] come more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort.

The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

178 Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story
769 is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were
dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the
entire society was coming to an end. They realized that
they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed
them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe.
There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solu-
tion was not built into the structure. An outside interven-
[787] tion was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo
chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place
for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe—the place where Aroe take
care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally
[763] cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

¹ According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

/118 cont./

000previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was
possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at
times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the
water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at
times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen
walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in
many places despite being renovated three times a year.
Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman,
or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
164 in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
262 many young men and women have already lost a large part
[827] of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods
lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always
very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not
able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any
case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
197 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women,
under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But
those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which
the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently
worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and
narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
● 302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/130 cont./

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[60] to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the wife, who will receive and will place everything in order, while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment on they will live together, they will call each other by the names of It'ore-do, It'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

[304] Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

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[302] What this German explorer is able to tell about the young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502): "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/158 cont./

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[252] As Tiago Alpobureu told me, there exists even today the custom that the women prepare the food for the funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Alpobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

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562 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acurí palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow, cut the hair.
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765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[307] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side, he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."
[307]
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9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor / Director Priest / in Meruri.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo:
little family with
the Padre Director
in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo:
married couple re-
turning from hunting
(Meruri)

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S: Baldus--48 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago
Marques Alpobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques
Alpobureu returning from hunting
(Meruri)

5: Baldus--49 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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16. Eastern Bororo:
old hunter
(Meruri)

17. Eastern Bororo:
lads in Meruri





18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring
her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastern Bororo:
Mario Bohodori
Kudde, one of the
bravest hunters of
ounces; Alayaa
Aroia Chereudda,
girl 17 years old, of
lively and critical
spirit, who knows
how to read and
write perfectly; and
the son of the
married couple
(Sangradouro)



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5: Baldus--51 E-4.5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

20. Eastern
Bororo:
Alaysa
Aroia
Chereudda
with her
son
(Sangradouro)



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21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori
Kudde with the metal earring
of the clan of the Aroia in his
ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo



22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo:
A smile by Mario
Bokodori Kudde
(Sangradouro)



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5: Baldus--53 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937

SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo



24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter
in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same
aldeia.

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● 302
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Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963

SP8 Bororo SP8



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LARGE CATCH is smoked and dried on
split-ended sticks set up close to fire.

[p.40-A]

on the São Lourenço River, and to 114
photograph the events that followed a
death that had just occurred there.
This story gives only the highlights of
these events—a complete report would
require an entire monograph.

When a Bororo is gravely ill, with- 763
out hope of recovery, his friends and
relatives decorate him with feather [301]
ornaments and anoint his body with [302] ●
urucú, a brilliant red paint made from [386]

[p. 40-C]



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Woman scrapes well in an açai palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects

a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.



[142]
[302]
[415]

[p. 41-B]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963

SP8 Bororo SP8

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ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers,
is given to outstanding hunter by the

relatives of deceased. Hunter must use
bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963

SP8 Bororo SP8



WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird
down and feathers, figure prominently

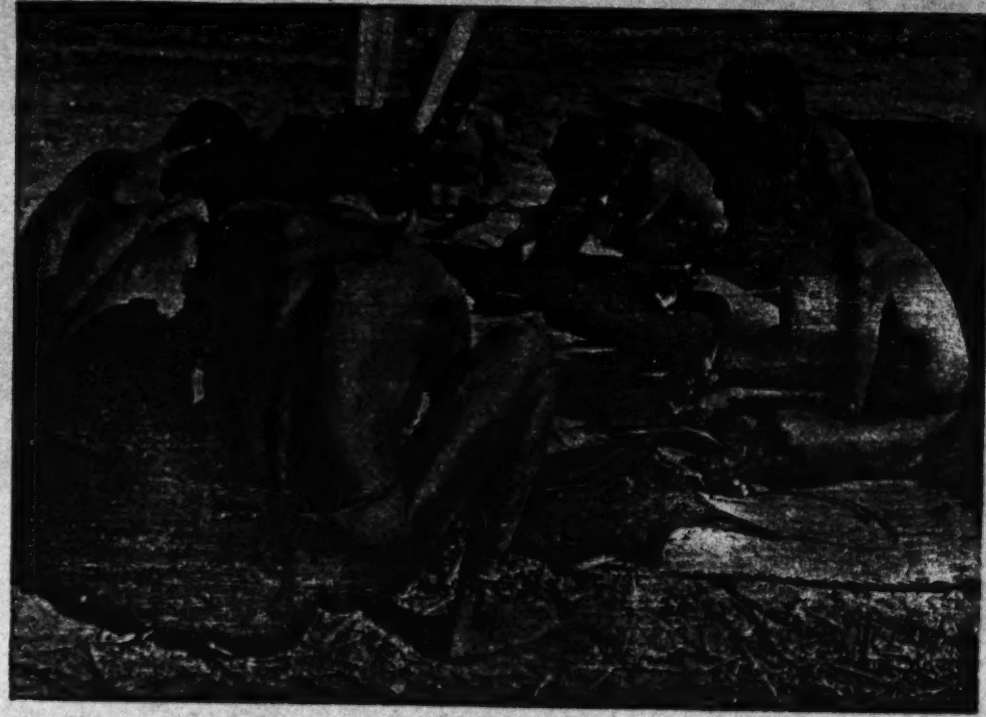
in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and
rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

[p. 43-A]

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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BLACK DESIGNS are painted on inside
of jaguar skin, above,¹ which is worn

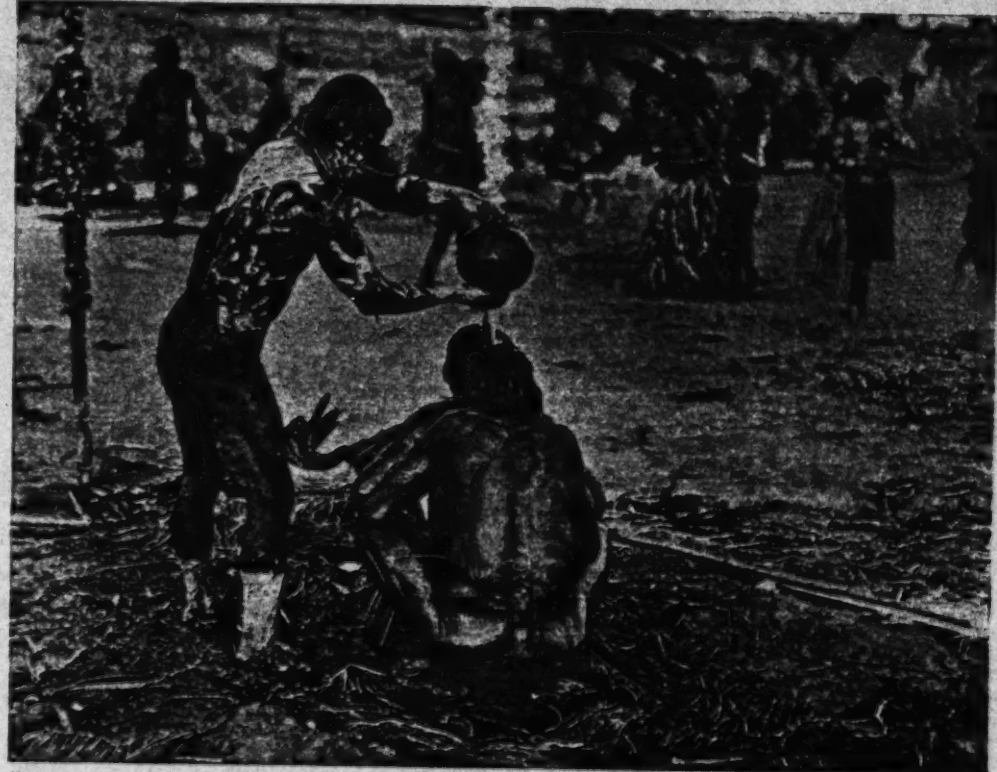
by shaman, below, in ritual dance to
appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

1 [see p. 43-C]
[p. 43-B]

6: Kozak C-5

(ca. 1954) 1963

SP8 Bororo SP8



EXHAUSTED DANCERS squat on temporary grave as a friend, daubed with clay to

represent a mythical beast, sprinkles them with water. This action cools the

dancers and hastens disintegration of body. Feathered pole is a grave marker.

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[p. 44-c]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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In preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red uructi paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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[435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[775]

[p. 45-A] [+ ext CONTINUOUS ON
p. 45-C]

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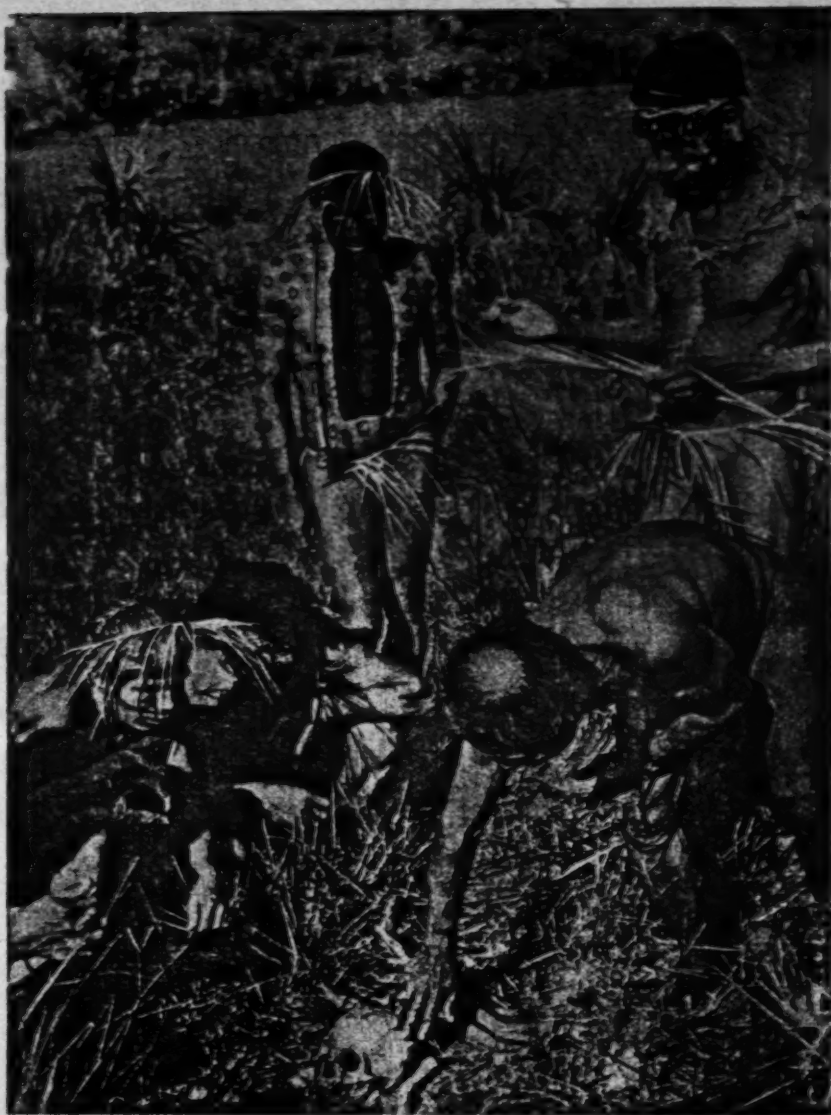


PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer

who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

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ONLY MEN take part in washing bones
in swamp near village. Shaman touches

skull in a kind of benediction before
all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

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Across a narrow stream, the women carrying loads to
take to the camp and work in a deep pit. Man in center

is standing in the central pit, while others in group help
him in placement of single bamboo poles to reach the ground.

[E-41.0]

COOK]

BORORO INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

49

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow."

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity.

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the buriti palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents

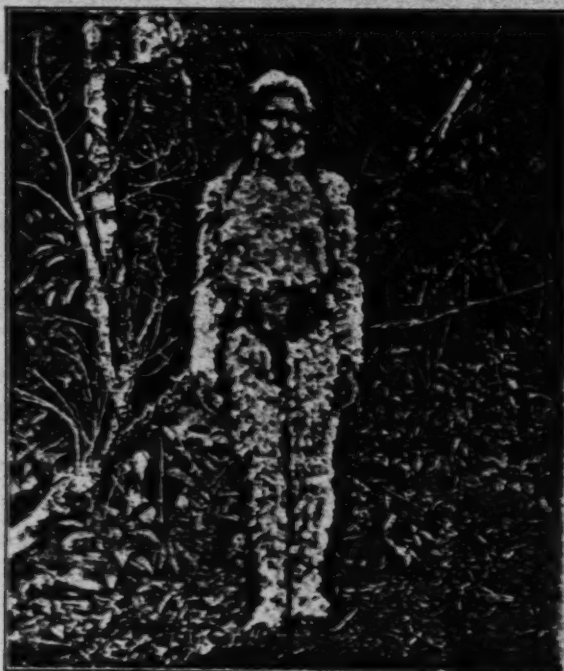
302 have their shoulders gumed and plaited with white feathers,
 593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather
 armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head
 to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
 304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy,
 a kind of chain called *nogodau*, about six inches long, made of flat
 oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older
 men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
 291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
 881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males
 who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield
 called *bd*. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from
 the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made
 of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or
 more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having re-
 ceived it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws
 of the *taton canandro* (*Prionotus gigas*) are also worn on the breast
 and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around
 the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out
 of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are
 worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments
 above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on
 special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
 562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared,
 and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like
 a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first
 causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches
 wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth,
 passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a
 female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she
 often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from
 us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in
 front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang
 it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
 346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood
 in the center and was called *baehytu*. *Bae* (by) is the name of the
 ordinary family hut. This *baehytu* is the bachelors' hall, the
 headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the
 men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

[Facing p. 52]



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BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS



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BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

Brazil.

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

361 We had now left civilization behind and were getting
 609 into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was
 1291 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet
 302 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing
 533 nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the
 time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were
 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while
 here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

Brazil.

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of college yells, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

Brazil.

226 The savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
 251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
 433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
 593 She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

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 000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

Brazil.

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

● 302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "banga." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

[304]

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the
177 astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown children occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these only. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, only, as

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fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

Brazil.

order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance.

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—*hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah*, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the

Brazil.

764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

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[302] On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and gibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

Brazil.

entrances to the savage hall. Meanwhile, stepping outside the great hut, I saw, crouching close to the wall of the hut, the mother of the recently deceased, weeping, wailing and gibbering in a low, squeaky voice which was almost gone, her body emaciated, covered with gashes and besmeared with blood. She was a most pitiable appearing creature. How cruel are the customs of savagery! 765

The soul representative and his adjutants next danced and jerked themselves outside the great hut into the open air, then to the public playground on the edge of the village. Here, the trio, totally exhausted, sat on the ground, while an assistant proceeded to call the *bopi* in the persons of a few of his fellow savages who were to represent them, or act as the materialization of the demons. Standing in the center of the ring, he beckons and calls, offering perhaps a bit of tobacco to induce a few men to volunteer, while the remaining males of the village—for only the males participate in this part of the funeral rites—stand scattered about in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees beyond the ring. At length, a savage offers to represent the *bopi* by dropping on all fours and beginning to creep very slowly toward the caller, or ringmaster, uttering constantly abdominal squeaks, in imitation, perhaps, of the note of the tapir, or of the wild pig. Approaching the center of the ring, he springs up suddenly on his *hind feet*, and with upraised arms rushes to the caller, where he takes his stand upon a spot prepared for him. Another and another volunteers in the same way until five *bopi* representatives are in line in the center of the ring. Balls of clay mud are now produced and the five *bopi* impersonators are painted drab from head to foot, black rings are marked around their eyes, the black figure of a serpent is sketched coiled around the body of one or two, and a quantity of mud is massed into their hair. 765
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The caller now places himself in the path leading to the village, and beckons and calls as before, and the *bopi* representatives again drop on all fours and begin to creep very slowly toward him, emitting continuously their weird notes.

Brazil.

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *hopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

[533] At the *méri rílu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [185] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

[224] The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

/252 cont./

*171 enormous ear maps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I
 532 heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio
 80 de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the
 171 Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrf, cf.
 532 Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and
 Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache
 was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the
 beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they
 [302] differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their
 first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they
 reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in
 great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II),
 by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open
 at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only
 for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with
 the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show
 the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the
 anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must
 know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard,
 that it belongs elsewhere.

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest.
 The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let
 the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not
 the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer
 of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites at-
 tract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries.
 If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more
 or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and
 whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them
 indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In
 the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those
 drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the
 sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they
 are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off
 only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized.
 The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

/452 cont. /

177
291 evening: several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details

[123]
→



later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smearred bodies

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578 /454 cont. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
 627 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
 great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter
 stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not
 a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women
 at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood
 scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend
 on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to
 unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;



Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led
 off by three women.

519 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but
 there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were
 dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian
 women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate --
 carnival everywhere!

[526] I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling.
 They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained
 in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg,
 or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock
 him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakfna," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá" or with a determined threat, "uh...."

[41] At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

●302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

/462 cont. /

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
 [123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
 [145] important elements of the language; they were extremely wide
 awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/,
 and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our
 civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased
 with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write
 things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."



Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
 [193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different
 for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim
 in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
 115 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent.
 153 He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression
 "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there im-
 mediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are
 bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the
 moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

2.: Steinen - 575ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacalt
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVI



Bororó.

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/471 cont. /

141 | toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II
once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 | Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were
plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the
eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage
to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but
equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which
one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an
occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name
comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows
wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style
for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and
cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf.
Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step
was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes
the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast
band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable
to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or
another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the
center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, be-
tween two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of
pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined
together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting
lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 | The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or
another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no,
oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazil-
ians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with
the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a
strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by
putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting
one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a
new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was
tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this
manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

2: Steinen--589 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
 157
 413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/
 itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
 765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the
 304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
 512 Waehnelde, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable

[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
 302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
 757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
 237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
 301 were always doête /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
 [164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont. /

257 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
 237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
 301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
 302 edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts
 stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the
 tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and
 scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely
 pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently
 saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one
 day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically
 treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
 [302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long
 absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls
 for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
 765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeleton-
 ized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamenta-
 tion of the Bororo on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas
 the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am
 unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely
 hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
 531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
 237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one
 saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
 136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of
 mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard
 in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
 302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
 237 mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
 [386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and
 the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out
 against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted
 with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her
 lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair
 was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing,
 but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont. /

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

237 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast
301 to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The pariko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596 /, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the pariko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugúgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleága (nabúre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/487 cont. /

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-



Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags

in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centimeters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess [462] it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

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[142]
→

[142]
[301]
[302]
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/499 cont. /

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semi-circles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us (191) from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaf. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semi-circle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

● 302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

/500 cont. /

One day The men permitted

- 302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
 [123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "afdye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
 531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

- 532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

- 531
 [622] Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and announces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance; it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
 [48] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a
 [956] medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

/505 cont. /

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the paríko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

• [302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two paríkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/507 cont. /

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers.

• [302] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair
[301] painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parfko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parfkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws
[301] painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be-
[237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

[13] The Umotina, who call themselves the Baloré,
 [10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
 dade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
 guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
 Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
 [197] below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
 [161] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
 [184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
 two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
 [142] kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
 bados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mutino*) was built
 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
 621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
 342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
 down to the ground, the whole being covered with
 pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
 were left open. This house type is the same as that
 formerly found among the Guató who live to the
 south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
 house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
 [374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
 night not only for warmth but also to drive away
 the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
 puberty used a penis sheath (*bakpotókua*) made
 from a burití palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
 [834] over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
 and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
 the end of the penis from the women. Men
 ● 302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
 back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
 grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
 [304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
 lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
 cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
 brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
 291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imeta*) made
 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
 304 had their ear lobes pierced.

[P. 106 (B)]

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
 256 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
 [534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
 offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
 will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
 tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
 sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
 846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
 These dietary restrictions continue for some
 months after the birth of the child. The husband,
 however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
 the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
 in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
 The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
 cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
 buried. The midwife then carries the child and
 assists the mother back to the village. The
 child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
 [845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
 accepted. When the child is a day or two old,

[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
 pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
 same in appearance as those used by the Nambicu-
 [553]nara. The grandparents then give the child a
 854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
 [847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
 about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
 nor did they mention anything about infanticide.

[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
 potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.

[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
 [301] ear pendants to let the young men know that she
 302 has come of age. She is not secluded by her
 parents nor is a public ceremony held. When

[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
 relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.

[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
 The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
 to the young man.

[P. 110(A)]